

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 EURE-00 SAJ-01 EB-07 OMB-01 TRSE-00

CIEP-01 INRE-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00

PM-03 H-01 INR-05 L-02 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 RSC-01

PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 /059 W  
----- 042052

O R 121745Z DEC 74

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6777

INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 BONN 19158

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, EEC, GW

SUBJECT: GERMAN ASSESSMENT OF EC SUMMIT

SUMMARY: HEAD OF FONOFF EC POLITICAL COOPERATION  
SECTION, VON DER GABLENTZ, HAS PROVIDED US WITH  
RESTRAINED BUT POSITIVE ASSESSMENT OF SUMMIT RESULTS.  
ESSENCE OF GERMAN OFFICIAL REACTION APPEARS TO BE THAT  
HEADS OF GOVERNMENT MADE MODEST ADVANCES ON A NUMBER OF  
POINTS AND, WHERE NO PROGRESS WAS POSSIBLE, ENGAGED IN  
A SUCCESSFUL HOLDING ACTION. GERMANS FEEL THAT  
"SWITCHES HAVE BEEN SET IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION",  
LEAVING OPEN, TO A CONSIDERABLE EXTENT, THE QUESTION OF  
HOW FAR AND HOW FAST THE EUROPEAN TRAIN WILL ACTUALLY  
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PROCEED ALONG THE ROUTE THUS ESTABLISHED. END SUMMARY

1. GABLENTZ THOUGHT THE SUMMIT HAD BEEN A WORTHWHILE EXERCISE FOR ALL CONCERNED--FOR THE EC AS SUCH, FOR EUROPE AS AN ENTITY AIMING TOWARDS EVENTUAL POLITICAL UNION, AND FOR THE INDIVIDUAL MEMBER STATES. MEMBER COUNTRIES HAD PROFITTED IN VARIOUS WAYS AND DEGREES. GABLENTZ THOUGHT THE BRITISH HAD CLEARLY COME OFF BEST, AT LEAST UNDER A NARROW INTERPRETATION OF THE RESULTS OF THE MEETINGS. WILSON WAS NOW IN A GOOD POSITION TO MOVE AHEAD WITH RENEGOTIATION AND, IF HE GOT SOMETHING HALFWAY RESPECTABLE, TO RECOMMEND IT TO THE BRITISH PEOPLE. THE ITALIANS AND IRISH GOT THEIR REGIONAL FUND (WHICH WOULD ALSO BENEFIT THE BRITISH WITHOUT THEIR HAVING HAD TO MAKE A FUSS ABOUT IT BEFOREHAND). FRANCE PROFITTED FROM THE SUCCESS OF THE MEETING ITSELF, WHICH GABLENTZ THOUGHT WOULD GIVE GISCARD MORE ROOM FOR MANEUVER INCLUDING, PERHAPS, A FREER HAND TO MAKE NECESSARY COMPROMISES ON MARTINIQUE.

2. GABLENTZ SAID THAT THE FRG, FOR ITS PART, HAD REASON TO BE PLEASED WITH THE INSTITUTIONAL MEASURES. MOST CONCRETE STEP FORWARD WAS AGREEMENT ON REGULAR MEETINGS OF HEADS OF GOVERNMENT, TO WHICH THE FRG ATTACHED GREAT IMPORTANCE SINCE ONLY THE TOP PEOPLE HAD THE INTEGRATIVE POLITICAL POWER IN THEIR OWN SOCIETIES NEEDED TO MAKE TOUGH DECISIONS. (SOME PRESS COMMENTATORS, ON THE OTHER HAND, ARE SPECULATING WHETHER THIS MIGHT NOT MEAN THAT A LOT OF DECISIONS HITHERTO MADE BY FOREIGN MINISTERS, OFTEN TRIVIAL IN NATURE AND HAVING ALREADY BEEN PUSHED UP TOO HIGH, WILL SIMPLY BE PUSHED UP ANOTHER NOTCH.) FRG WAS PLEASED, GABLENTZ SAID, THAT MEETINGS OF HEADS OF GOVERNMENT, AS NOW FORESEEN, WOULD STRENGTHEN EXISTING INSTITUTIONS RATHER THAN HAVING BEEN SET UP UNDER SEPARATE INSTITUTIONAL AND BUREAUCRATIC ARRANGEMENTS. ANOTHER SATISFYING ASPECT, FROM BONN'S POINT OF VIEW, WAS THE INEVITABLE CONVERGENCE BETWEEN THE TRADITIONAL WORK OF THE COUNCIL, ON THE ONE HAND, AND

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USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 BONN 19158

POLITICAL COOPERATION ON THE OTHER. GABLENTZ DISMISSED THE LAST TWO SENTENCES OF PARA 3 OF THE COMMUNIQUE AS REPRESENTING NECESSARY PRO-FORMA VERBIAGE WHICH DID NOT ALTER THE FUNDAMENTAL FACT THAT THERE WOULD BE GREATER AND GREATER CONVERGENCE. WITH REGARD TO MAJORITY VOTING IN THE COUNCIL, GERMANS WERE SATISFIED WITH THE COMMUNIQUE WORDING, ALTHOUGH THEY WOULD OF COURSE HAVE PREFERRED NOT TO HAVE THE INVOLUTED REFERENCE TO THE "LUXEMBOURG COMPROMISE". IN ANY CASE, THIS WAS AN AREA WHERE THE PROOF OF THE PUDDING WOULD BE IN THE EATING; ONLY TIME WOULD TELL TO WHAT EXTENT MINISTERS AND HEADS OF GOVERNMENT WOULD BE ABLE TO IMPLEMENT THIS UNDER-CONFIDENTIAL

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STANDING AND TO WHAT EXTENT NATIONAL CONSIDERATIONS WOULD CONTINUE TO INTRUDE.

3. COMMENT: FRG IS THE ONE EC MEMBER WHICH, BY ITS AGREEMENT TO THE REGIONAL FUND, MADE A SIGNIFICANT ADVANCE CONCESSION IN ORDER TO ASSURE THE SUCCESS OF THE SUMMIT (AND, INDEED, IN ORDER TO ENSURE ITS BEING HELD AT ALL). SOME COMMENTATORS HERE HAVE DESCRIBED THIS AS "WRITING A CHECK AGAINST THE FUTURE" OR AS AN "INVESTMENT IN HOPE". GABLENTZ COMPARED IT WITH SOME

OF THE CONCESSIONS THE FRG MADE IN ITS EASTERN POLICY--  
A SURE PAYMENT NOW AGAINST AN UNCERTAIN FUTURE RETURN,  
BUT A PAYMENT WHICH, GIVEN THE IMPORTANCE OF THE  
EUROPEAN COMMUNITY TO THE FRG, HAD TO BE MADE. THE  
GERMANS OBVIOUSLY ARE INCLINED TO REGARD THE BRITISH  
SUCCESS IN SOME MEASURE AS A GERMAN SUCCESS AS WELL,  
PARTLY BECAUSE OF SCHMIDT'S INVOLVEMENT AS A MEDIATOR  
IN WORKING OUT THE SUMMIT COMPROMISE, BUT MORE  
IMPORTANTLY BECAUSE BONN ATTACHES SUCH GREAT IMPORTANCE  
TO RETAINING BRITAIN AS A MEMBER. THUS, UNDER A BROAD  
INTERPRETATION, WHAT WILSON ACCOMPLISHED SHOULD, IN THE  
GERMAN VIEW, BE SEEN AS A SUCCESS FOR ALL.  
HILLENBRAND

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**TAGS:** PFOR, EAID, GE, XG, EEC, (VON DER GABLENTZ)  
**To:** STATE  
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